

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01     PRETOR 04176 161317Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4176

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S VIST: MEETING WITH BLACK LEADERS

1. FOLLOWING HAVE ACCEPTED INVITATION TO MEET WITH SECRETARY AT 3 P.M. SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 18. W. BERGINS, GATSHA BUTHELEZI, WILLIAM KGWARE, SONNY LEON, TOLICA MAKHAYA, LUCAS MANGOPE, LEONARD MOSALA, LUCY MVUBELO, HUDSON NTSANWISI, JAYARAM REDDY, AND LENNOX SEBE. FOLDERS WITH BRIEFING MEMO, PHOTOGRAPHS AND ADDITIONAL BIO SKETCHES WILL BE READY FOR PARTY ON ARRIVAL. BRIEFING MEMO REPEATED BELOW.

2. MEETING WITH BLACK LEADERS: BACKGROUND.  
THE LEADERS WITH WHOM YOU WILL MEET ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO APARTHEID BUT HAVE FOR THE MOST PART CHOSEN TO WORK WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OFFERED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH RECENT DISTURBANCES WHICH HAVE POINTED UP THEIR DECLINING LEVELS OF INFLUENCE WITH YOUNG ACTIVISTS. THE HARD LINE TAKEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER, AND THE LACK OF MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, HAS ADDED TO THEIR FEELING OF IMPOTENCE. SOME ARE RECEIVED BY BLACK CONSTITUENTS WITH INCREASING HOSTILITY, AND MOST HAVE FELT THE NEED TO TAKE STRONGER PUBLIC POSITIONS IN OPPOSITION TO SAG POLICIES IN AN EFFORT TO IMPROVE UPON THEIR IMAGES AS "UNCLE TOMS".

SONNY LEON CHOSE CONFRONTATION WITH THE SAG IN REFUSING AS CHAIRMAN TO IMPLEMENT THE BUDGET ALLOTTED TO THE COLORED  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02     PRETOR 04176 161317Z

COUNCIL LAST NOVEMBER. THE SAG DISPLACED HIM WITH

MRS. ALTHEA JANSEN, A PLIANT NONENTITY. SPLITS WITHIN THE COLORED COMMUNITY HAVE CONTINUED TO WEAKEN LEON'S CLAIM TO LEADERSHIP: HE BLAMES THE CURRENT UNREST IN THE CAPE PROVINCE ON SAG STONEMASONRY, AND ACKNOWLEDGES THAT YOUNG COLOREDS CONSIDER EVEN HIS OWN STAND INADEQUATE TO BRING CHANGE.

GATSHA BUTHELEZI IS UNDER ATTACK BY SOME ZULU ELEMENTS WHO THINK HIM TOO COMPLIANT WITH SAG WISHES. HE IS OPPOSED BY BLACKS FROM OTHER TRIBES WHO FEAR THE MIGHT OF THE ZULU NATION AND BUTHELEZI'S EFFORTS TO WIN A BROADER BASE OF SUPPORT EXTENDING BEYOND THE ZULUS. HE HAS SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY AGAINST SAG HOMELAND AND RACE POLICY, BUT WE UNDERSTAND HE HAS COUNSELLED ZULUS TO STAY OUT OF THE CURRENT UNREST.

NTSANWISI AND SEBE HAVE SPOKEN LESS FORCEFULLY BUT NEVERTHE- LESS CLEARLY IN OPPOSITION TO SAG HOMELAND POLICY. MANGOPE HAS ACCEPTED THE SAG POLICY OF LEADING HOMELANDS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE. HE HAS ALSO BEEN THE TARGET OF BLACK VIOLENCE: HIS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY WAS SET ALIGHT, AND HIS HOUSE HAS BEEN ATTACKED. MORE RECENTLY HIS SON WAS ARRESTED ON SUSPICION OF HAVING TAKEN PART IN ANTI-GOVERNMENT RIOTING.

REDDY LEADS THE CONSERVATIVE INDIAN FACTION THAT PREFERS TO WORK WITHIN THE SYSTEM WITHOUT FULLY ACCEPTING IT: HE HAS SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION FROM OTHER INDIAN ELEMENTS WHO WOULD PREFER TO PRESS THE SAG HARDER. KGWARE IS VIEWED AS A PRODUCT OF THE SAG SYSTEM AND IS DISTRUSTED BY BLACK ACTIVISTS, YET HIS NEW POSITION AS RECTOR DESIGNATE OF THE TURBULENT CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH MAY PROVIDE IMPORTANT BRIDGES TO BLACK YOUTH IF HE IS SKILLFUL.

MAKHAYA AND MOSALA OF THE SOWETO URBAN BANTU COUNCIL HAVE BEEN HEARD AS BLACK SPOKESMEN BY THE SAG, YET THEY ARE DENOUNCED AS POWERLESS COLLABORATORS BY SOWETO BLACK YOUTH. THEY HAVE BEEN DESPERATELY HOPING FOR SOME SIGN OF UNDERSTANDING AND YELDING ON THE PART OF THE SAG, AND ARE GREATLY DISCOURAGED TO FIND NONE AS YET. THEIR  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03     PRETOR 04176 161317Z

POSITIONS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT AS VIOLENCE CONTINUES AND THEIR INFLUENCE IS SHOWN TO BE INEFFECTIVE.

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

BLACK SOUTH AFRICA LOOKS TO THE UNITED STATES FOR GREATER LEVELS OF PRESSURE ON THE SAG TO EFFECT CHANGE IN INTERNAL POLICIES THAT AFFECT THEM. THEY FEAR THAT THE U.S. MIGHT TAKE AN EASIER LINE ON THESE DOMESTIC ISSUES IN ORDER TO

SECURE SAG COOPERATION IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA.  
THEY WILL LOOK TO YOU FOR REASSURANCE OF U.S. INTEREST IN  
THIER PROBLEMS, AND WILL HOPE TO HEAR OF STEPS THE U.S.  
MIGHT TAKE TO ENCOURAGE THE SAG TO CHANGE ITS POLICIES.

YOU MAY WISH TO STIMULATE DISCUSSION WITH QUESTIONS ALONG  
THE FOLLOWING LINES:

1. HOW HAVE RECENT EVENTS AFFECTED THE OUTLOOK OF  
THEIR RESPECTIVE CONSTITUENTS?
  2. WHAT STEPS DO THEY BELIEVE THE SAG COULD REALISTICALLY  
TAKE TO SET A NEW COURSE IN RACE RELATIONS?
  3. WHAT KIND OF POLITICAL DISPENSATION DO THEY BELIEVE  
COULD EVOLVE THAT WOULD BRING AN ACCEPTABLE LEVEL  
OF PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS?
  4. HOW CAN WHITE FEARS OF BEING OVERWHELMED BE DEALT WITH?
  5. WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE CAN THE U.S. PLAY IN ENCOURAGING  
THE SAG TO MOVE AWAY FROM APARTHEID?
- BOWDLER

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